1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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balians usada, Balinese doctors possessing books on botany and medicine (*usada*).[11] In this connection mention may also be made of the prohibitions against buying the meat of animals that have died and against the use of opium.

As was said, the Tĕngananese do not farm their lands themselves. *Sawahs*, gardens, and coconut groves are almost all operated by so-called *pĕnyakaps* as sharecroppers. An exception is the *kayu naung*, which yields palm wine: a large share of the Tĕngananese occupy themselves with producing this wine. However, they must leave the making of sugar or spirits from it to persons from outside the village, since that is prohibited members of the *desa*. The consumption of palm wine is high. Mention should also be made of the production of oil from candle-nuts for household consumption and for dyeing yarns. The characteristic oil presses are to be seen standing along the main streets.

The wives and daughters of the *desa* members are forbidden to do any trading. Even day-to-day purchases at the *pasar* they have to leave to people who are not (or no longer) eligible for *desa* membership.

As regards livestock, there are various regulations restricting the keeping of cattle. No cows are allowed inside the residential *desa* (though they are permitted in the gardens), and members of the *desa* may not take care of them. On the other hand the consumption of beef is not prohibited. Buffaloes are owned only by the *desa* as a whole: they are used exclusively as offering animals, and their dung serves as medicine. Horseback riding is forbidden inside the *desa*. Every woman who is a member of the *desa* raises pigs, but the keeping of boars is a privilege of the *pasĕk*, who derives certain advantages from it. Pigs may only be sold to other members of the *desa* with the knowledge of the *desa* association. Only sick and mangy animals are permitted to be sold to the Chinese pigdealers, likewise with the consent of the *desa*. Almost all types of livestock are of importance primarily as offering animals. During the *usaba* in the fifth month (Kalima) of the Tĕngananese calendar, no less than fifty pigs are offered. Poultry are among the smaller offerings.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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462 munists of Tenganan go to the plantation only to make tuak, beer
[273] from sugar palms.

On the way down the hill, I was allowed a glimpse of the sacred
778 temple of Tenganan, of which we had heard mysterious reports. It was a small enclosure under a great banyan tree surrounded by a low wall of uncut stones roughly piled up. Inside were a few mounds of the same stones, reminiscent of altars, and in one of them there was a larger stone with what appeared to be a natural
[609] cavity. I could not go into the enclosure because no outsider is ever permitted to enter it. I-Tanggú could not divulge the purpose of such a primitive "temple" and could not even name the deities worshipped there, but he added mysteriously that there were three of them! It seems extraordinary that this pile of stones is the only sacred, "essential" place of worship for the Tenganans, who are expert carvers and fine artists.[a]

Just outside the village I had seen a regular Balinese-style
184 temple with fine roofs and elaborate carvings, but this, I-Tanggú
346 said with contempt, did not mean much to them and was more
778 for the use of their Balinese guests and coolies, perhaps as a concession to the official cult of the island, so that they would not be considered as savages, people without a "proper" temple.

[a] This extraordinary village must not, however, be taken as a typical Bali Aga
[184] community. Tenganan was deliberately cut off from the natural development of the rest of Bali and remains today a unique, rabidly conservative, and strictly tribal community that seems to take pride in doing things "differently," even from the rest of the Bali Agas. Institutions that are the very essence of Balinese culture, such as the shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*), are unknown, while others are even forbidden. Many rites and festivals peculiar to Tenganan do not exist elsewhere.

Dr. E. V. Korn has made an exhaustive study of the Tenganan people (*De doorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*), but their religious concepts remain ob-
[171] scure, perhaps even to the Tenganans themselves. Like the other Balinese they worship the Gunung Agung and rule their life by the eternal principle of orientation—high and low, right and left. They venerate shapeless stones (*batú menurun*), considered to be the fragments of the famous horse of Outjé Seraya, stones that are the symbols of "origin" of totemic groups that are sharply divided into "right" and "left." The people of Tenganan were influenced by distorted ideas from an early version of pre-Madjapahit Hinduism and have a vague notion of the Hindu Trinity,
[177] headed, however, by Indra, generally a minor deity, who is to the Tenganans the same as Siwa-Iswara, the supreme god, "Lord of the Centre," with the *kubu* (home) of "Sanghyang" (Brahma) at the right and that of "Idjeng" (Wisnu) at the left. One of their lonely temples, or, rather, tabooed enclosures, is supposedly the reflection on this earth of the heavenly lake of Indra.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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brown colour, bathe the pig, before roasting, in tumeric crushed 252
in water, and rinse off the excess root. Make a big wood fire and place the pig not directly over it, but towards one side. Forked branches should support the end of the stick that serves as a spit, one end of which is crooked to be used as a crank by a man who turns the pig constantly (*guling* means to turn), while another man fans the fire to direct the flame and smoke away from the pig. The heat should be concentrated on the head and tail and not in the middle so as not to crack the skin of the stomach.

After a few hours of slow roasting the juiciest and most tender pork is obtained, flavoured by the fragrant spices, inside of a deliciously brittle skin covered with a golden-brown glaze. Few dishes in the world can be compared with a well-made *bé guling*.

When the food is ready and the guests are assembled, sitting in long rows, they are served by the leading members of the *bandjar* and their assistants, who circulate among them carrying trays with pyramids of rice and little square dishes of palm-leaf pinned together with bits of bamboo, containing chopped mixtures, *satés*, and little side dishes of fried beans (*botor*), bean sprouts with crushed peanuts, parched grated coconuts dyed yellow with *kunyit*, and preserved salted eggs. Others pour 273 ●
drinks; *tuak* (palm beer), *brom*, a sweet sherry made from fermented black rice, or more rarely *arak*, distilled rice brandy. [271]
More frequently water alone is served; it is only old men who are fond of alcoholic drinks, drinking, however, with moderation and never becoming drunk. During our entire stay in Bali we never saw a man really drunk, perhaps because the Balinese dread the sensation of dizziness and confusion, of losing control over themselves.

COSTUME AND ADORNMENT

At home and at work the Balinese like to be free of excessive 291
clothing; ordinarily the dress of both men and women consists simply of a skirt called *kamben* (the women wear an underskirt —

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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764 on it, dashing the empty pots to the ground to break them, which is one of the rules. The body is so thoroughly soaked in holy water that one begins to wonder how it is possible that it will burn. Next the important accessories,[1] together with thousands of *kepengs* as ransom to Yama, the lord of hell, are spread over the body; costly silks and brocades are piled on it, and the lid is replaced, while the more voluminous offerings are put under the coffin to serve as fuel. The priest stands facing the closed coffin for a final blessing and often he himself sets off the pyre.

[372] Fire from matches is considered unclean and it should be procured by friction or by a sun-glass.

The orchestras play all at once, the *angklung* louder and more

[533] aggressive than ever, while the *gambang* hums solemnly near where the old men and the women relatives have assembled to watch the body burn. The air is heavy with the odour peculiar to cremations, which haunts one for hours after, a mixture of decaying organic matter, sweating bodies, trampled grass, charred flesh, and sm[illegible]e. The mob plunders the towers to rescue the mirrors, si[illegible]nd tinsel before it is set on fire. Everybody is tense an[illegible]h about excitedly feeding the fires, all except the high pr[illegible] is in a trance, performing the last *maweda* on a high [illegible], the elderly men, who drink palm wine from

[273] tall bamboo ve[illegible]s, sitting in a boisterous group, and the daughters and wives of the dead men, who remain unemotionally quiet in the background.

The men in charge poke the corpses unceremoniously with long poles, adding debris from the towers, all the while joking and talking to the corpse. The crowd is neither affected nor touched by the weird sight of corpses bursting out of the half-burned coffins, becoming anxious only when the body is slow to burn. Soon the cow's legs give way and the coffin collapses, spilling burning flesh and calcinated bones over the fire until they are totally consumed, often not without a good deal of poking. Small boys are then permitted to fish out the *kepengs*

[1] The adegan, kadjang, angenan, ukur, and ulantaga.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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that now things were getting worse, and that the place should by all means be purified by a great *metjaroe* ceremony, to drive away the demons and bad spirits who were growing bolder. Falling is a shock which upsets the nice balance of well-being, just as the feeling of a rush of blood to the head in an inverted position is uncomfortable, and must therefore be wrong.[2a] Fathers and grandfathers who hold their young children in their laps for hours at a time never swing them about nor cast them in the air as ours are apt to do. Men and women will always endeavor to keep their erect posture, their even pace, their absolute balance, regardless of obstacles in the way, and to cultivate this tendency in the child. White men who scamper down a hillside, in excess of good spirits and momentum, or who leap over a stream, will always evoke laughter in the Balinese who walks sedately on, stepping into the water as if it did not exist, so long as the even measure of his gait is not interrupted. Because his feet are bare and the water warm, there would seem to be no reason to exert himself to jump over the stream. If it were not that the Balinese never jump, one would say that their habits are only better adjusted than ours to a climate uniformly hot, where it is better to conserve one's energy for those exertions required in the daily work. But the systematic avoidance of all shocks and pains and disturbances of the circulation of the blood characteristic of all adult Balinese would indicate that a more specialized consciousness of the body is involved. And this theory is supported by the fact that the average Balinese, although he has plentiful supplies of distilled arak and palm-wine, does not like to get drunk. The feeling of confusion, the lack of his usual surefootedness and sense of equilibrium, are so unpleasant to him that he does not often risk the experience. And the whirling of the universe which precedes nausea is positively terrifying. Then he is indeed *lost*.

Malay people have a term for the sensation of being lost, *keliru*. In the Balinese language the word is *paling*. To be *paling*, they say, is "not to know where North is"; in other words, he is *paling* who has lost his sense of direction, or who has lost the sense of his own position in relation to the geography of his world. One man whom I knew was taken for a trip in a motor car. He fell asleep during the

[2a] The Balinese do not express in words the idea that to upset balance is wrong, but they do express it in their affective response. A look of pain, of fear, or of anxiety appears on the face of an adult who tumbles, or of a child who is held upside down, which far surpasses in feeling the response we should expect, and is comparable only to the responses called out by other "wrongs" against the social and religious laws.